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Radicals Keep Pressure on Lisbon Government

The anti-government campaign being waged in Portugal by the Communists and the far left has sparked rumors that radical military officers are planning to overthrow the Azevedo government. In response to the unrest, President Costa Gomes yesterday announced tough directives aimed at recovering illegal arms, many of which are thought to be in the hands of extreme leftists.

Several sources have indicated that leftist groups intend to move before November 11—the day Angola is to become independent. An official in the interior ministry, who earlier had claimed that the attempt could occur this weekend, said yesterday there was only a

"15-percent" chance it would come that soon.

Past rumors of coups have often cited November 11 as the deadline for a move against the government. The rationale is that any group would have to have complete control of the Lisbon government to be able to influence the outcome in Angola. Events in Angola, however, have taken on a momentum of their own, and there is little any Lisbon government can do to alter their course dramatically.

Given the shaky condition of the Azevedo government, a move to overthrow it sooner or later is clearly possible. What seems likely in the near term, however, is another struggle

between dissident and loyal elements in the military.

The radical "Soldiers United Will Win" organization is continuing its protests against the government on several fronts:

- Rebel soldiers who mutinied in Porto last week announced that they are not satisfied with the compromise negotiated by army chief Fabiao and are threatening another round of violence.

- Radical troops joined far leftwing civilians yesterday in demanding that the government reopen Radio Renascenca, the church-owned station now in the hands of leftist workers.

- "Soldiers United" has held a series of rallies during the past week in conjunction with radical farmers and industrial workers calling for "popular power" and the dissolution of the Azevedo government.

The 18-man Revolutionary Council, headed by Costa Gomes, issued the new security directives after an all night meeting that began on Thursday. Military units were ordered to open fire on anyone illegally using firearms against civilians, soldiers, or the police.

Individuals possessing illegal arms were given one week to turn in the weapons or (See Portugal...Page 4)

A Report from Porto

People in Portugal Said to Fear Both 'Fascists' and Communists

The Daily today presents extracts from a report written last month by Dale Dover, a consular officer on temporary assignment in Porto, Portugal.

One attitude that permeated all political discussions was the fear that the "fascists" would somehow return to power and conduct a purge against all the moderates and radicals who had exposed their true political leanings since April 1974. There was a unanimous wish that the "fascists" never return to power. Many, however, said, "The day the Communists permanently take over is the day I leave Portugal for good."

Fearing the "fascists" on the one hand and the Communists on the other, most people favored the Socialists and the Popular Democrats in that order. The majority seemed content with preventing rightists from coming back and heaving out extreme leftists, and hoping that the

Socialist and Popular Democrats will be strong enough to rectify the situation. No one was clear on how to effectuate this change.

Thousands would mass at political rallies by night, but no one dared to show his political colors during the day. No one volunteered that he belonged to a particular political party. Many were prepared to riot and burn down Communist headquarters and paint slogans under the cover of darkness; few had enough mettle to voice their opinion, stand behind it, and fight for it in daylight.

This avoidance of confrontation showed up in gross exaggerations of Communist power.

Similarly, the Portuguese appeared to invent spectacular odds against them in the political arena and then decide that it would be wiser to acquiesce than fight.

The most visible manifestation of anti-Communist action was the sacking and burning of Communist installations in northern Portugal. However, no one wanted to take credit for it. When asked who perpetrated these attacks, the answer was, "We did." "We who?" "All of us."

There was also a growing belief that all anti-Communist movements would be combined into one and that Spinoza would appear to take command of it. Since Spinoza was a guiding spirit in the past, some people believed it inevitable that he would return to lead Portugal in the future.

Many thought Spinoza a "fascist" (See Porto...Page 4)

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Porto . . .

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traitor" who deserved to be discredited. Others agreed, sporadically, that he was the man for the job.

In a climate where disheveled soldiers loitered on the streets and the revolutionary zeal which characterized the April 25th movement withered, it seemed essential to have a personality associated with the "glorious days" to lead a new movement.

After decades of the Salazar regime, Portuguese youth appeared to be moving toward the sort of radicalism which characterized American campuses in the

Portugal . . .

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face prison or fines. Whether the measures will be effective depends on whether the government is willing to enforce them vigorously.

The uncertainties in mainland Portugal appear to be having repercussions again in the Azores. A call by the Azorean Liberation Front for an immediate referendum on independence has gotten little response from the government, but has stirred new separatist activity.

The military has tightened security, but the episode suggests that the reliability of army troops in the islands is questionable.

sixties. While they paid lip service to new-found Marxist-Leninist ideals, they tried to increase their awareness through watching American movies and listening to American music. The "in" garb was American college T-shirts, blue jeans, and sneakers.

Toward Civil War

The question of whether Portugal was headed toward a military confrontation between two polarized internal forces concerned many Portuguese.

"If things continue as they are, we are sure to have civil war," or "A civil war is the only solution" were phrases which came up several times. Some were disturbingly fatalistic regarding its inevitability. Still, no one offered a likely cast of characters or even an outline of events that might precipitate a fight.

Three things would appear necessary for a civil war: a near collapse of civil order, a polarization of political forces, and a spark.

Civil order in the North has withered since the 1974 coup. Garbage collected on Porto streets because of the inaction of street cleaners. Local authorities refused to regulate traffic and parking. The civil services in general were close to collapse.

In Porto, the polarization of political factions was manifested by a huge rally of socialist supporters one night and a large Communist rally the next. However polarized the factions may seem, they did not appear organized enough to sustain a lengthy, violent confrontation.

The military had the organization but would have to overcome its lack of leadership and inertia before it could be a threatening force.

The most explosive threat was the returning settlers from Africa, who could easily turn toward seeking a forceful resolution of their problems. This group could provide the spark. (C)